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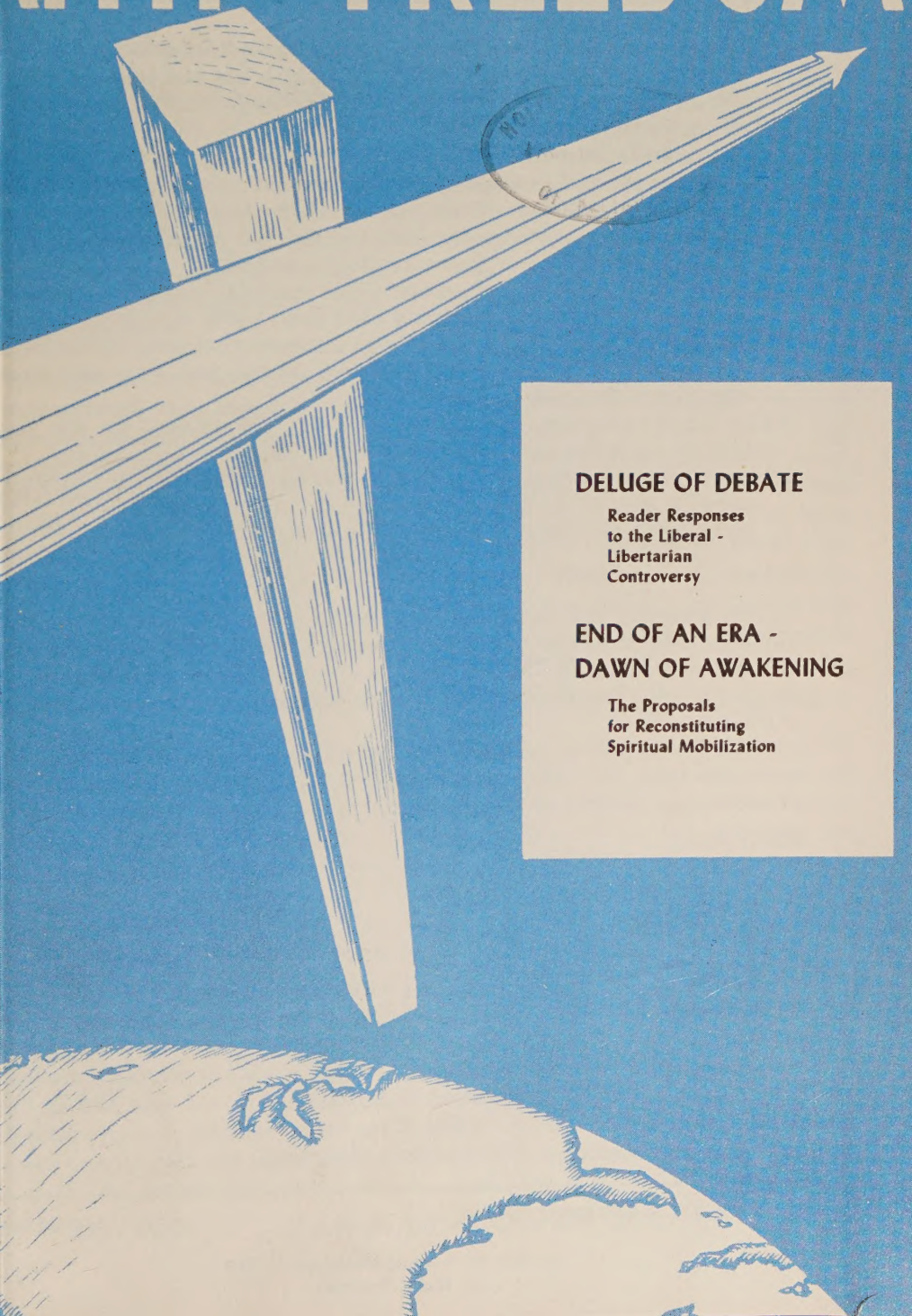
w Perspectives in

AITH AND FREEDOM



DELUGE OF DEBATE

Reader Responses
to the Liberal -
Libertarian
Controversy

END OF AN ERA - DAWN OF AWAKENING

The Proposals
for Reconstituting
Spiritual Mobilization

The "Words to Grow on" Calendar

DISCOUNT OFFER BEFORE APRIL 15

Praise For "1960"

Just one Chicago businessman, of the many who send our "Words to Grow on" calendar to friends and associates, received warm words of gratitude such as the following:

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A Pasadena housewife: "We were so surprised and delighted with the beautiful calendar and its wonderful quotations! We thank you for it!"

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A Los Angeles attorney: "Thanks so much . . . for sending me the very beautiful calendar for 1960. This is certainly more than a calendar! . . . "

A former Nebraska Congressman: "Thank you for sending me the Christmas calendar put out by Spiritual Mobilization. I had read about it, . . . so your thoughtfulness in sending it to me was doubly appreciated."

Prospect For "1961"

With replies like these, the Chicago businessman wrote to Spiritual Mobilization: "If you continue [the calendar], I definitely would order up to 1000 copies. As long as I can afford to do so, I shall be actively exposing people to ideas. The 'Words to Grow on' calendar is one of the finest methods of achieving this."

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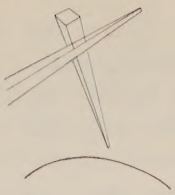
The Deluge of Debate



INTRODUCING THE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF "LIBERAL AND LIBERTARIAN - CLASPED HANDS AND CROSSED SWORDS"

by the Editor

Not since *Faith and Freedom* came under the direction of the present Editor has an issue evoked so much response as the Tenth Anniversary Exchange of views between liberal and libertarian clergymen. Acceptance of Mr. Ingebretsen's invitation to respond has been both voluminous and bewilderingly varied.

As might be expected, most of the letters received were from friends and fellow libertarians; yet any assumption that friends are critical only of the liberal point of view would be largely gratuitous. The dissecting knife and searching probe are used by intelligent libertarians fully as much upon their own corpus of belief as upon that of their rivals. This is wholesome!

Exciting, Excited Discussion

It is our pleasure to devote most of this issue to the further discussion of the liberal-libertarian controversy as developed by our readers themselves. It is not possible to reproduce all the letters, or any of them entire, and it seems desirable that they be accompanied by editorial comment. Limitations of space, the necessity of clarifying comment, and a desire to stay close to the fundamental question of a Christian approach to the social problems of our time have regulated the selective process. Because letters are quoted only in part, we felt obligated to omit the names of our correspondents.

It should be noted, however, that the responses come from all walks of life. While the largest single group consists of men and women in the religious vocations – in church and school – almost all are people of serious Christian concern and commitment, whether businessmen, economists, publishers, social workers, housewives, or laborers.

This issue of *Faith and Freedom* may prove as evocative as the one which immediately preceded it. As far as possible, the contents are presented without necessary dependence upon the previous issue, but the Tenth Anniversary number should nevertheless be read, and additional copies are still available from Spiritual Mobilization on request.

The Previous Issue Summarized

A brief summary here, however, will set the following pages in context. As an official on one of the Social Action committees of his denomination, the Rev. Julian Keiser of Los Angeles published in his journal, *The Stimulator*, a present-day version of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, entitled "Structured Neighborliness." In this "modern parable," aid was summoned by the car telephone of a passing motorist on a Los Angeles freeway for a man who had been injured in an accident. Rescue was provided by police, and further assistance to the injured man and his family provided in terms that led Mr. Keiser to conclude:

"Since this is a modern parable, dealing with a more complex age and a highly organized industrial society, the story asks another question: How could anyone have been a neighbor to the man injured on the freeway if there were no telephone in the car, no tax-supported police, hospital insurance, unemployment compensation, social welfare workers, or social legislation regulating each of these factors in our modern society?"

Reading Mr. Keiser's piece, Dr. Harry Butman, pastor of a Los Angeles church, felt led to preach a sermon in protest. He called it "The Minimized Man," asserting that Mr. Keiser's parable represented Christian approval of "collectivism and mechanization," not merely on the freeway but in virtually all human relationships, with the individual soul inevitably reduced in stature and significance. Dr. Butman pleaded for reaffirmation of individual dignity, integrity and compassionate personal Good Samaritanism in the original meaning as a constructive spiritual rebellion against "this wave of social and mechanical idolatry that has swept over our century."

Questions Raised

Asked to reply to Dr. Butman, Mr. Keiser raised a series of questions about what Christians should do in face of the massive, impersonal forces and complexities of our time.

In an extended commentary, the editor sought to add to these questions and, in general, to evaluate the exchange, noting the points of both agreement and divergence between the "liberal" outlook of Mr. Keiser and the "libertarian" view of Dr. Butman. The questions as raised by Mr. Keiser, the editor felt, called for the "liberal" answers of larger coercive, governmental intervention into the affairs of both the nation and the world.

The editor therefore asked, "Has the Christian Spirit Become Irrelevant?" Is not the resort to coercive, governmental means for providing benevolent services from the cradle to the grave a denial of and an undesirable substitute for voluntary Christian means? If Christianity is, then, to be restored to relevance, must we not seek and give vitality to an image for the good life that reaffirms the essentials of what could once be called "The American Way?"

It is to this exchange of views that the following pages speak through the stimulating debate and dissent of our correspondents.

America means far more than a continent bounded by two oceans. It is more than pride of military power, glory in war, or in victory. It means more than vast expanse of farms, of great factories or mines, magnificent cities, or millions of automobiles and radios.

It is more than the traditions of the great tide westward from Europe which pioneered the conquest of a continent. It is more than our literature, our music, our poetry. Other nations have these things also.

Maybe the intangible we cannot describe lies in the personal experience and the living of each of us rather than in phrase, however inspiring. The meaning of our word "America" flows from one pure spring. The soul of our America is its freedom of mind and spirit in man. Here alone are the open windows through which pours the sun light of the human spirit. Here alone is human dignity not a dream, but an accomplishment.

HERBERT C. HOOVER, 31st President of the United States

Cavalcade of Concerns

BY OUR CORRESPONDENTS AND THE EDITORS

I. CAN CONVERSATION BE RESTORED BETWEEN RIVAL VIEWS?

Several correspondents expressed deep appreciation of the method of openly exchanging views between liberals and libertarians, and approved of the spirit in which it was done. Said one: "The Keiser paraphrase, the Butman rebuttal, and the Greenfield analysis of both are . . . as keen a knife in cutting to the core of the problem of Christian confrontation of today's dilemma as I have ever seen." Another felt that nothing new had really been added, "except something often missed in such debate – a fine humbleness and love."

This, however, was submitted by still another: "When you join hands with the liberals . . . in grasping a common sword of truth, be sure that you have the tightest grip on the sword!"

COMMENT: In any debate or discussion it is probable that the rivals will maneuver for the stronger position. Because liberals, however, already seem to hold the upper hand in major educational, publication, and religious centers, ours is not the problem of getting "the tightest grip"; ours is the problem of securing a hearing at all. Perhaps with some justification, liberals have generally been far from cordial to libertarians.

Yet, where positions are reversed, as they are in these pages, it must be the liberal, liberating spirit of a genuine Christian libertarianism to respect every man's right to his sincere opinion, and to welcome wisdom from sources that are skeptical or even hostile. If many who call themselves "liberal" seem to have forgotten to practice this virtue (except perhaps across iron curtains!) libertarians must not, if they are to be true to the best meaning of their spirit and outlook. We not only seek the truth that makes men free, but also cherish the freedom to seek the truth. Neither truth nor freedom can be obtained nor sustained by force or by bigoted exclusion. The free flow of ideas and a reservoir of good will are indispensable to any kind of creative achievement.

II. "BUT WE LIVE IN SUCH A COMPLEX AGE!"

Almost invariably in such a discussion as arises between freedom and control, the objection is raised: "But we live in such a complex age!" This is a problem that especially disturbs clergymen. One therefore asks: "Just how much freedom should one have?" and refers to the early abuses of freedom by some factory owners, now curbed by legislation but being replaced by worse abuse from many labor unions, also in process of being curbed.

Still another clergyman observes: "I am not at all sure that the Rev. Mr. Keiser was favoring the 'minimized man' or that he was affirming . . . the irrelevance of the Christian spirit. Maybe he is frustrated by the fact that it seems almost impossible in our structured society to exercise pure personal Christian neighborliness without all the forces of social legislation, etc., being brought into play."

COMMENT: Certainly the insecurities, disorder, and complexity of our modern society, which could not exist without government in some form, and the coercive efforts of government to cope with the Frankenstein it has itself helped create, are frustrating to all of us. We resent or distrust the attempted use of coercion on a broad scale to solve social problems, yet we do feel the need for some kind of process by which order can be restored. Enlarged centralized control under some purported form of democratic process, not only in government, but also in the church, organized labor, and industry, has therefore at least superficial appeal as the solution.

"But," replies one correspondent, "Plato lived in what we call a simple age, and he worried about the social problem by using the same approach as the modern collectivists employ. There is nothing about the complexity of civilization that nullifies the need for individual goodwill – in fact, this very complexity makes individual goodwill all the more necessary. . . . "

A still more pointed answer is provided in a circular from the president of a libertarian foundation for economic education:

Who Is Competent to Control?

"Let us take the simplest possible situation – just you and I. Next, let us assume that I am as wise as any president of the United States who has held office during your lifetime. With these qualifications in mind, do you honestly think I would be competent to coercively control what you shall invent, discover, or create, what the hours of your labor shall be, what wage you shall receive, what and with whom you shall associate and exchange? Is not my incompetence demonstrably apparent in this simplest of all societies?

"Now . . . contemplate a really complex situation – the 177,000,000 people of this nation. If I were to suggest that I should take over the management of their lives and their billions of exchanges, you would think me the victim of hallucinations.

"Is it not obvious that the more complex an economy, the more certainly will governmental control of productive effort exert a retarding influence? Obviously, the more complex our economy, the more we should rely on the miraculous, self-adapting processes of men acting freely. No mind of man nor any combination of minds can even envision, let alone intelligently control, the countless human energy exchanges in a simple society, to say nothing of a complex one!"

How Get Cohesion?

Yet the ultimate consideration is this: The form of the political structure itself is relatively secondary. The cohesiveness so necessary to the peace

and continuity of a society, especially so pluralistic a society as ours, can be accomplished in only two ways. One is by force (dictatorship), which we rightly reject. The other is by a common faith, sufficiently accepted in its essentials by enough people to provide cohesiveness on a moral and spiritual level. It is almost an axiom: The absence or loss of a common, cohesive faith is an open invitation to the colossus of centralized power. No political formula, national or international, has ever proved equal to preventing the ultimate taking up of this terrible invitation where spiritual and moral cohesion is lacking or has broken down.

III. CAN THE COLLECTIVIST TREND BE STOPPED?

We are not alone in concern about the march toward collectivism. "If our country continues in its present trend," observes a clergyman-teacher, "there is only one end, and that is extreme socialism or communism, . . . but I do not know how we can reverse it. Has it reached a momentum too great to be checked?" Says another: "I entertain no serious hope that we can eliminate all or even very much of state intervention in our lives. Likewise, I feel no doubt whatsoever that if we further pursue present tendencies we shall, perhaps long before we pessimists anticipate, destroy freedom and with it the opportunities for our grandchildren which we have cherished so for ourselves."

COMMENT: The same "pessimist" goes on to declare, however, "If we can steadily perceive how this threat grows, and dramatize it to all who will look and listen, perhaps we shall prevent disaster and even to some extent turn the tide in the opposite direction for a while. Such a prospect makes worth while all the effort any of us can exert."

Perhaps all that can be said to the fears is that we must, indeed, keep trying! Perhaps, also, there is hope in the growing evidence of disturbance over the collectivist trend, appearing among collectivists themselves. Many on all sides are ready to acknowledge that something is wrong, though no thoroughgoing effort has yet emerged to find what answers are right.

Whatever the right answer may prove finally to be, it seems safe to say that it will not be found in any easy or ready-at-hand political personality or nostrum to which we can turn or return. The area of saving truth to be explored lies deeper, close to the heart and soul of America and her people. It is in awareness of this deeper need that we call attention to the notice elsewhere in this issue of the new and valiant effort being made by some of the friends of Spiritual Mobilization to find a better and contemporary Christian vision to help direct America's course. (See pages 21 ff.)

IV. WHAT IS A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY?

"I object to your setting up a 'Christian America' as a goal or an ideal."

COMMENT: We assume that this refers to the suggestion that America may be used as a model for Christian society. It was readily acknowledged that what Americans have *done* with their society is not by

any means entirely exemplary. Even at its best, America may not be called ideal.

And yet, short of utopia or the Kingdom of God, what does a workable Christian society for our time require as an achievable minimum? A Christian society would certainly have the kind of liberty that holds individual personality sacred, affords maximum scope for personal achievement according to ability, protects God-given rights from violation by the predatory, and operates with maximum exercise of voluntary acceptance of responsibility. In short, it would be a free society as against a totalitarian or socialist society.

A free society operating on the principle of voluntary consent admittedly places a premium upon individual character and sense of stewardship, but it is difficult to see how a society could be called Christian if this were not the case. While the force of law may impose an outward conformity to Christian norms of behavior, the degree to which coercion is necessary to secure such conformity attests to the *lack* of Christian motivation. Coercion is always a substitute for the Christian spirit, not its expression.

Abuse Does Not Condemn the System

But assuming a society of predominantly Christian people, what political and economic structure would it have? We submit that the original federal structure and principles of free enterprise and voluntary institutions established in America come as close to a viable Christian society as any yet known to man. We invite anyone, if he can, to suggest when a better structure and set of operating principles has ever been successfully put in operation on a large scale – recalling again that the test of "The American Way of Life" does not lie in what Americans have thus far done with it!

To the degree that "The American Way of Life" has failed, it is not the fault of the federal system or of the principles, but of misunderstandings, abuse or faulty application, and disintegration of the spirit of freedom – the capacity and responsibility for self-government under moral law and subject to a higher spiritual order. This distinction between a good system and faulty application is too often overlooked by those who look elsewhere than to the character and spirit of the people for the solution of our problems.

V. ARE CHRISTIANS IN GOVERNMENT THE ANSWER?

"The problem of the world today," as Billy Graham is quoted by a correspondent, "is the human race – man himself. The Bible calls that problem sin." Or, as more positively expressed by another, "If the churches will stick to the job of building God-fearing Christians, those Christians will then take care of government and keep it good. The real trouble with our country is that sincere Christians are not running it." Asks still another: "How can we expect to see a Christian State where there are no Christian leaders?"

COMMENT: At the risk of seeming to contradict ourselves, we enter a demurrer. To be sure, the problem is in man himself rather than his systems of government. What man is and does will determine in large

measure the kind of government he gets and keeps, whether limited or unlimited.

Yet, historically, a possible exception may be noted, though it represents an hypothesis that is difficult to prove or disprove. Americans may well have been given in the essentials of their Constitution as close to an ideal government as is conceivable and operable by man; but, by all too many appearances, Americans have failed, even since the founding of our Republic, to understand and live by the real significance of what they have.

It can be persuasively argued that the success which America had as the freest of all societies was due to the fortuitous circumstances of isolating oceans and the existence of a raw frontier, and not to the genuine competence and character which the Founding Fathers saw as necessary to the survival of limited government and private enterprise. We remained a free people, less because we were good than because we were lucky! As soon as isolation ceased and the frontier was closed, America began to revert to the same state-dominated kind of society it had been established to avoid!

Character to Match Circumstance

If this be so, it would have to be said that the Founding Fathers were as far ahead of their time as today's technological achievement is ahead of our time – ahead, that is, of man's moral and spiritual capacity for the outward benefits given him to enjoy. In other words, the survival of freedom and civilization in America *now* depends far more critically, not upon favorable circumstances but upon the moral and spiritual qualifications of man himself!

If the problem is with man, however, the fulfillment of the task of making people Christian, whereupon they may be expected to "take care of government and keep it good," is not self-evident. Government has historically been used, and in many ways continues to be used, by some sincerely Christian men as an instrument for imposing their particular creed, code, or values upon others. This, for instance, is what libertarians fear from liberals, as sincerely Christian as many liberals are.

The function of Christians in society is not simply to keep government "clean" but to keep the necessity of government at a minimum! In a very real sense there is no such thing as "Christian legislation." Legislation is a confession that no voluntary, Christian solution has been found, or that Christians have not been able or willing to use the voluntary Christian means at their disposal. Having a "Christian State" is not so much a matter of having Christian leaders *in* the State as having Christian leaders and followers who require and seek the least possible intervention *by* the State.

VI. IS IT ENOUGH JUST TO "DO GOOD"?

One of our friendly critics directs attention to the point that in Mr. Keiser's modernized parable of the Good Samaritan somebody did something. The inference is that, regardless of the means, the doing of a helpful act in meeting a human need is its own justification.

COMMENT: No one can quarrel with that spirit of the Good Samaritan which, in charity, love, and justice, lends a hand when help is called for. Irrespective of what we may believe about the adequacy of good deeds as a way to salvation, a Christian demonstration of faith is not complete unless it produce the fruits of "doing good."

Our quarrel is certainly not with the way in which the needed help reached the injured man on the freeway of Mr. Keiser's parable. As the friend who raised the question has suggested in a subsequent letter: "If Mr. Keiser implies that California's traffic congestion calls for facilities to cope with more than normal situations, he is right. If he thinks of his 'structured neighborliness' as a precondition for Christian action, he is wrong."

It is precisely this latter point that Dr. Butman and we were impressed *is* the meaning of Mr. Keiser's "modern parable." He appeared to be saying that governmental, tax-supported agency is the way by which the "doing of good" is to be accomplished today, not simply as a necessity *but as the moral equivalent of personalized acceptance of responsibility.*

The Menace of Means

Instead of quibbling, then, over something that otherwise seems sacrosanct and self-evident, we are asserting that the *means* by which good is done is always crucial. If, for example, you see a family in your community in financial need, you can do either of four things in ascending order of responsibility:

1. Play Robin Hood by stealing the needed funds from others in the community, knowing they can afford it and believing they have a duty to contribute, but convinced they are too stingy.
2. Get the city council (or, worse yet, some more remote political authority) to pass an ordinance by which the needed funds can be collected through taxation, thereby making the forcible extraction of benevolence money legal and in the open.
3. Contribute money from your own pocket while also soliciting contributions from others in your community, or supporting a voluntary agency for the needed charity, but otherwise going about your own business.
4. Extend, along with your financial help, your own personal, compassionate love and understanding in redemptive brotherhood, whereupon the needy person may be enabled to achieve the moral and spiritual dignity and self-respect of eventually helping himself.

In all four cases, the deed of serving the immediate material demands of the unfortunate is being performed, yet the difference in means should leave no doubt as to which is the work of a genuine Good Samaritan. Except for the guise of legality, it is difficult to see how the second course differs from the first. Nevertheless, it is the second, enlarged into the vast "social welfare" programs of local, state, and national government, that is today being construed as "doing good."

The Consequences of Compulsory Charity

That such enforced charity may ultimately do more harm than good is evident from its considerable part in corrupting the spirit and personality of all parties to the affair – the payer, the dispenser, and the receiver. That our fiscal system is also being corrupted, with inflationary pressures cutting the value of everyone's income dollar in half, is only less serious in comparison. For those on fixed income, especially the elderly and retired, and persons of low income capacity, even a greater injustice is being done than was presumably being relieved in the first place.

Moreover, both fascism and communism have tried to justify themselves by the claim of "doing good." But the desirable ends of doing good can only be vitiated if pursued on the immoral assumption that the ends justify the means.

VII. ARE VOLUNTARY, PRIVATE MEANS SUFFICIENT?

One of Mr. Keiser's questions was whether voluntary means are sufficient for providing the services that modern, complex society appears to require. Several readers responded to this important question. Said one: "It seems that our modern liberals try to substitute the doctrine of socialistic welfare for the doctrine of Christian charity. This also seems to be the doctrine of our social planners. . . . Man, in their opinion, . . . is no longer an individual capable of thinking and acting for himself."

Said another: "The chief reason for our thinking of [*governmental welfare and regulatory programs*] *as absolutes is that we have not been doing what our Lord says we should. . . . Too much and too long and too loudly we have been saying, 'Let George do it!' . . . The Georges couldn't exist apart from us who create them by our donothingness, our passings-by on the other side!"*

COMMENT: *Can* voluntary endeavor meet the needs of our time? No conclusive answer can be given because it is not being sufficiently tried. We can say that the greatest need of our time is love, and that this *must* be voluntary. We can also say that our physical needs probably cannot be met steadily over any long period of time in the absence of a strong voluntary urge to self-help by the needy. Efforts short of this, even when supplemented by governmental means, can only increase the needs faster than the resources with which they can be met. Two of our readers have offered important insights with regard to part of the problem. Says the first:

One Man's Witness

"Mr. Keiser calls attention to certain valid service needs in our complicated modern society, and then assumes that the only way of meeting them is through the medium of government. This is an unwarranted and untenable assumption. If government did not monopolize the field, private initiative through voluntary organizations would do it as well or better.

"Most people assume that such things as postal service and fire protec-

tion must be carried on by government. The fire protection in my community is by private organization. It costs much less and is equally efficient with any government-operated fire department. Private organizations, such as the Red Cross for instance, if the field were not monopolized by government, could perform all of these services equally well and at much less expense than the cost of maintaining large government departments for such matters.

"There is a place for government, but it is erroneous to assume that many of the things now done by government could not be done by private organizations at much less than present cost. Viewed in the light of facts, the paraphrased parable is singularly unimpressive."

Another Man's Experience

Further considerations come from a lively, thought-provoking account by an insurance agent, dealing particularly with governmental aid to the unemployed and the elderly.

"I left school in 1929 and walked head-on into the crash of that year. I saw the Social Gospel emerge, and for a time I was thrilled with its promises. Money for the aged? Money for the unemployed? For widows and their children, for orphans and disabled? What brute could oppose such good? Is there any wonder we were drawn, in that era of insecurity, toward this beautiful rainbow?

"My first disillusionment came soon after benefits became available. A friend's job had been completed, and he was laid off. I heard of an opening and walked three, hot, sandy country miles to let him know about it. He 'reckoned' he'd just take it easy for a few weeks, now that he had 'unemployment.' My vocabulary is too poor to convey the sinking feeling as I retraced those hot miles. . . . My suspicions and eventual opposition to the scheme have since been justified a thousand times over. . . .

"One man who has paid in less than $600 (to Social Security) now draws $106 per month and has been doing so for some years. He asked me why they didn't pay him more, with 23 billion in the fund. When I explained that there wasn't a dime in the fund, only government IOU's that were a debt on all of us, he brushed me off as being jealous because the government was giving him a better program than I could sell him.

Social Security versus Private Insurance

"This challenge tormented me until I went to the Social Security office and got every pamphlet and circular they had. I studied that program for several weeks until I knew every single benefit and restriction. . . . Then I drew up two insurance programs covering two hypothetical men. One I insured under Social Security, and one I insured under a plan I can place on 99 of every 100 young men today on an ordinary rate. On a group basis, the rates would be much less.

"Using the same premium rate for each, I then systematically 'killed' them off at every age where Social Security or the insurance program would show a difference. There was not one case where the one under Social

Security would receive as much in benefits as the one under the private program. . . .

The Cost of Charity

"The plain truth is that we could have everything Mr. Keiser would have us have, and grant more benefits than are now being received, and still save millions of dollars every year. . . . It costs 10c to give a voluntary donated dollar to a needy person. County aid costs 23c, state aid, 49c, and federal money costs $1.10 for each $1.00 the recipient receives. . . . Would Mr. Keiser care to estimate how much more would be available for charities if the doles were discontinued? . . . "

One more comment on this matter. May it not be that our increasing habit of dependence upon government is destroying our *will* to find the answer to modern needs by the voluntary means of private initiative? May it not be the surrender of the realm of God (Christian obligation) to the realm of Caesar (the doing of good by coercion) that has so greatly weakened the Christian Church in our time? The honorable rule-of-thumb that government should do only what the people cannot do for themselves (such as national defense) is rapidly becoming, "Get the government to do what the people seem *unwilling* to do for themselves!" This, in its cumulative narcotic effect, is "the road to serfdom."

VIII. IS THE UNITED STATES A DEMOCRACY?

The evolution of political ethics, from the concept of scrupulously limited government in 1789 to the increasingly centralized and unlimited type of 1960 – from dependence upon God to dependence upon Caesar – involves a further fundamental distinction that, again, is too seldom made. It arises from Mr. Keiser's reference to "government in a democracy."

"I wish," says one correspondent, "that he and other Americans would stop referring to our government as a 'democracy.' We never were, nor were we ever intended to be. Ever since 1932 a great many people, including, unfortunately, a number of business and professional leaders, have used this term carelessly."

COMMENT: For one of the fullest and clearest treatments of the subject, the reader is referred to Felix Morley's *Freedom and Federalism* (1959, Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 260 pp., $5.00). It traces the shift toward the serious error perceived by James Madison and quoted by Mr. Morley as his thesis: "The error . . . seems to owe its rise and prevalence chiefly to the confounding of a republic with a democracy. . . . A democracy . . . will be confined to a small spot. A republic may be extended over a larger region."

But let another of our correspondents take over from here. "The United States of America," he declares, "is not a democracy, . . . and pray God it never becomes one! The Founding Fathers deliberately avoided the concept of democracy in order to preserve individual rights and natural rights. They

gave us a representative republican form of government, which differs from democracy in that it protects the rights of the minority, which no democracy has ever done. . . .

"In a democracy, the majority rules outright, and the minority has no rights which cannot be destroyed. Our government was deliberately formed to protect the rights of the smallest possible minority – one person. . . .

"It is intriguing that those who support the notion that we are a democracy rather consistently point to our philosophy of equality – equal rights and privileges for all men before the law. They talk of self-government, consent of the people, lawful government, and natural rights (Locke's famous essay) to support their position. Yet these are the very bases of our American republic! They fall into the easy error of confusing the political term with the adjective 'democratic.' With 'democratic' I have no quarrel, since certainly our republic is, in fact, a democratic society – but, save the mark, not a 'democracy'! . . .

What the Founding Fathers Dreaded

"When the Constitutional Convention was in session, the delegates had before them a world picture in which governments everywhere were running wild with a tendency to assert authority in centralized, undivided form. . . . Because they wanted to avoid the same for America, the Constitution directly denied the right of the people to direct the government without restraint, as had been done in the early Greek City State. . . . The men who wrote the Constitution attempted to make sure there would be no centralized and undivided power. That was precisely what they feared from 'agents' of the people functioning in a democracy. . . . The addition of the Bill of Rights provided a potent limitation to even the indirect exercise of a 'people's government.'

"It was during the Constitutional proceedings that James Madison said: 'Democracies have been the spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property, and have been generally as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths.' And Sam Adams: 'Democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy that did not commit suicide.'

The Hidden Revolution

"I find no reference to the United States as a democracy previous to 1912. It was only a few years later that we went to war to 'make the world safe for democracy.' That is where the landslide started. During the past three decades we have been drifting toward democracy, a cunningly contrived revolution within the old form.

"Since Americans have become accustomed, unthinkingly, to characterize the United States as a democracy, the power has been steadily passing from the people. We have seen the growth of Big Government, and with it a mammoth bureaucracy which has been stealing the powers of the various branches of constitutional government and the powers of the people. This has always been the prime characteristic of democracy.

"The most dangerous slogan has been 'Make Democracy Work.' Under it we have witnessed a legalized larceny in which the rights of individuals have been ruthlessly invaded in behalf of the Collective. The government has by force taken from him who produces, in order to give to him who either will not or cannot. For example, the graduated income tax. . . . The government which can lawfully take 90 per cent of your earnings has no legal bar to taking 100 per cent. . . .

"Certainly in this century our society has become more complex. Certainly new problems are constantly arising. Certainly we need to develop and change. But no American who is aware of his heritage should ever do homage to that ancient European lie that 'the government can do it for us better than we can do it for ourselves.' . . . This is precisely what the Founders dreaded – that democracy would lead us to Big Government, to the extinction of the rights and freedoms of the individual, to the tyranny of the State, and to the inevitable end, the man on horseback!"

IX. WHERE IS THE LINE BETWEEN CAESAR AND GOD?

It is quite probable that many who consider themselves "liberal" would disagree with Mr. Keiser, either feeling that his parable and questions suggest too much government planning and intervention, or too little. This is likewise the case with some of our readers who describe themselves as "libertarians," taking exception to Dr. Butman's position or ours, conceiving that even we, as fellow libertarians, are suggesting too much or too little government.

For instance, here is a portion of comment from a noted libertarian publisher:

Has Government the Right to Tax?

"I can think of no right that Caesar or the government ever had, or ever will have, that differs from the rights of each and every individual. If Caesar has a right that the individual doesn't have, then we have another god before our God. When Jesus made that statement ('Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's'), he was on the spot before a lot of hypocrites that wanted him to oppose taxation; so he evaded the answer by this meaningless phrase. . . . It seems to me that that statement, if Jesus ever made it, has caused more confusion and led to more attempts to serve two masters than anything Jesus has ever been accredited as saying.

"Will you please tell me what Caesar has a right to do that I, as an individual, do not have a right to do? . . . I cannot see how anybody who really believes in the Hebrew-Christian religion and understands the Ten Commandments can believe the use of aggressive force to make a man pay for something he does not want, which is all taxation is, is in harmony with the Hebrew-Christian religion!"

Compare this with the following comments from a distinguished libertarian economist:

Our Debt to Government and Machines

"The question arises whether Dr. Butman does not overlook the fact that were it not for the existence of a powerful, governmentally operated police force, he and practically all other observers of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule would long ago have been wiped out by gangs of robbers. . . . And, were it not for the abundance of soulless machines operating in industry, most of his neighbors would, in order to secure this world's goods to maintain barely decent scales of living, be compelled to toil from dawn to dusk and have left very little time in which to practice neighborliness. . . .

"Ought not Dr. Butman, and every one of us libertarians, to recognize the fact that in no community can the masses live in comfort, have leisure, and be free of constant fear, unless modern machines do most of the work required for abundant production, and unless powerful government protects the nation against foreign enemies, and, by maintaining law and order, enables domestic industry to flourish, and citizens in general to enjoy a degree of personal liberty? . . .

"If Dr. Butman gives careful consideration to the points here mentioned, will he not be inclined to cancel most of his adverse criticism of the Rev. Julian J. Keiser's fine parable, 'Structured Neighborliness'?"

COMMENT: Let it be said quickly that Dr. Butman's objection was not to machines as such, nor to government in its proper, limited role. His objection was to what he called "worship of the machine," and to the entry of government into benevolent functions. Both, he declared, tend to diminish and dehumanize the individual, stripping him of his full significance as a man. We agree.

But the bigger, more pressing problem is that of the relation between Caesar and God. It is one of the most focal and urgent of our time, yet we see no sign that the relation is fully comprehended by anyone. Our Founding Fathers made an effort, in the light of what they knew of nature, human nature, and the condition of their time, to establish a working line through the structures and principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the first Ten Amendments. Theirs was an endeavor to draw the line near that end of the spectrum which gave minimum scope to Caesar and maximum scope to God.

The Constitutional Compromise with Caesar

Yet the ink was hardly dry before predatory interests moved in to use the political processes to establish or preserve special privileges for some at the expense of others. This was perhaps the inevitable consequence of the pragmatic concessions to Caesar which the Founding Fathers believed necessary. Once the breach was made, the way steadily opened to moving the line farther along the spectrum from least government to most. The line which the Constitution of the United States was meant to draw has since been breached so often that there are today few theoretical limits to which we may not move toward totalitarianism.

Let us frankly say that, even if we wished, we cannot now return to the conditions of the latter 18th century. In defining a line between the realms of Caesar and God, we must start where we are. Some who call themselves liberals, if they had the power by simply pressing a button, would move us along at once to a completely planned society. Some libertarians have declared that if *they* had the power, they would move us at once full distance the other way.

In our view, either extreme would bring gigantic disaster, either as dictatorship or chaos. There is no need to inveigh against dictatorship, the total triumph of Caesar. The concern is what to do with regard to moving in the other direction, enlarging the province of God.

The Man on Crutches

We can illustrate, perhaps, with the analogy of a man who, feeling a slight pain in his legs, takes to a pair of crutches and begins increasingly to trust his weight to them rather than to his legs. In time he is no longer able to move without his crutches. His legs atrophy, with circulation in the legs virtually gone.

The answer proposed by some libertarians is simply to take the crutches away, and the man will learn again how to walk. But what if the man has lost his capacity, as well as his will, to walk? Removing the crutches might have been possible before dependence upon them had gone too far. Now it *has* gone too far, and the crutches cannot be withdrawn except gradually as therapy is used to restore circulation to the atrophied limbs.

In other words, our society may have already reached the point where what is needed far more than taking away the crutches is restoring the will and capacity to walk again. This calls for a program of spiritual theraphy which gradually can restore the "circulation," using fully the energies and freedoms we still have to resist further atrophy and to revive strength where it has been dissipated or lost.

Spiritual Mobilization believes that it is only as this process takes place that we can reclaim for the province of God the realms being increasingly usurped by Caesar. There are, to be sure, a number of governmental interventions upon the reduction or elimination of which Americans can and ought to begin immediately, such as the legal privileges and immunities which have created union monopoly power, the more confiscatory features of taxation, governmental competition with private industry, artificial price supports, and so on.

Political Effort Not Enough

But such political effort by itself is not enough. While the collectivist, coercive trends of our time help to demoralize and reduce men's creative capacity, and therefore should be strongly resisted for that reason alone, it still remains that enlarged freedom will serve no creative purpose unless people are morally and spiritually ready for it.

The task of drawing the line between Caesar and God may be academic in an age in which God is already largely crowded out. Christians must

recognize, however, what it is that is doing the crowding and what must be done to crowd back. They must see that mechanization and the growing encroachment of government are, indeed, tending to "minimize man," paralyzing his capacity for self-disciplined self-government and, at the same time, requiring heroic new measures to restore and strengthen his self-governing capacity.

The challenge of our era is not only to the integrity and sheer survival, but also to the growth, of the individual soul. This is the primary concern to which every other must be subordinate. We must see that unless we are governed by God we will be ruled by Caesar.

We are not attempting here to define a line between Caesar and God. While it might be possible to do so theoretically, the problem is not one of theoretical limits, but, believing as Christian libertarians that all of life belongs properly to God, what can be done to prepare the human spirit for reversing the present trend and making Caesar subordinate to God. We urgently invite liberals and libertarians alike to help us in the understanding and the undertaking of this formidable task.

X. THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION: WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE HUMAN SPIRIT?

"In our day of ever greater speed, of frenetic strivings for material things, our absorption with material forms . . . has become a type of treadmill of the spirit. Our motions, while surrounding us with ever greater physical comforts, conveniences, and luxuries, do not serve to bring us closer to a spiritual reality – a reality that creates form as only one of its attributes. One is reminded of the instruction, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and its righteousness, and all these things will be added unto you.'

"Seeking is basically an individual and private matter. The fruits of spiritual seeking are to be shared in Christian community open to all who have a desire for its richness and the wholeness of soul it creates. One ideally then achieves re-integration and wholeness from what has been segmentation of soul. But merely to enjoy the advantages of 'progress' and the countless marvels of technical skill, one must give tokens of loyalty, if not complete subservience. Each dependency we create in ourselves without conscious affirmation of our freedom to choose what it is we will create, is a snare and a hazard of self-delusion."

COMMENT: Here, in this last of the responses too numerous to be reproduced in their entirety, is the sum of our concern. The fundamental question that must be asked of all that is happening in the modern world is this: what is it doing to the human spirit? If the mechanized material abundance and the intrusions of the State upon individual liberties are a threat to the integrity of the individual soul, certainly serious revaluation is required by anyone who believes in the sacredness of personality.

In our view, the instruments of order which release or produce higher energies, whether industrial or political, material or moral, have a rightful

and important place in the life of man. They were meant to be tools for the enhancement of man's life, the means of power over nature and the human situation which comprise one of the meanings of freedom. Freedom is mastery over the conditions which restrict and limit the growth of the human spirit. All the tools, whether mechanical, economic, political, or social, were meant to be servants of the spirit, enlarging its freedom. And they *can* be – if they are not permitted to become the masters.

Another of our friends preached a sermon that was his response to the Keiser-Butman exchange. It expresses what is too seldom heard in the modern pulpit. These brief portions of it may fittingly bring this cavalcade of concerns to a close:

The Master of Life

"It was his deep spiritual knowledge that finally made Jesus the Master of life. He knew that most human problems were, in their final analysis, a reflection of something wrong, something ugly, within man himself. Laws and commandments, and force and violence could not correct these basic difficulties. They could punish and make afraid, but they could not change the basic nature of man. They could not give him a new spirit. Only a proper response to the will of God could do that. . . .

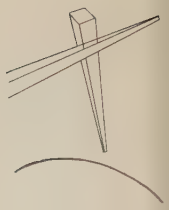
"Can you imagine Jesus being called the Master of Life if his prescription for men's physical, spiritual, and mental ills was always, 'Go to Rome and get Caesar to pass a law?' It is ridiculous on the face of it. Jesus was called Master because he knew and understood the power of God and what it alone could do to enlighten the minds of men groping in a world of darkness. Men in his day, as men in our day, needed a new mind and a new spirit if evil were to lose its attractiveness, and goodness, virtue, and morality to become men's highest goals. . . .

The Great Lie and the Great Truth

"One of the great tragedies in modern man's life is that he no longer thinks religion to be very relevant to his problems. This has been the blasphemy of much of the so-called Social Gospel. It tends to substitute the powers of this world for the power of God. More laws, more social welfare legislation, complete cradle-to-the-grave security, will solve all of man's problems, for his problems, according to this philosophy, all stem from his imperfect and insecure environment. This is the great lie of the twentieth century! . . .

"It is imperative for our day to come to see that there is something amiss within ourselves, and that whatever it is, it is not something that can be cured by an act of Congress. We have a spiritual malady that can only be cured with a spiritual therapy. . . . Man must rediscover the relevancy of the historic religious virtues and awaken to the eternal validity of the moral law."

Should Government Be Our Brother's Keeper?



BY EX-PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER

The following short piece was originally published in the first issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM, December, 1949. It is an ex-president's answer to one of the fundamental challenges which Christian thought must face. It is basic to the entire Liberal-Libertarian controversy in the Tenth Anniversary and this subsequent number of FAITH AND FREEDOM, and its pertinence is almost startling.

We have a steady expansion of government into welfare activities. . . . Parallel with this expansion, we have stupendous taxation to support the hot and cold war. That makes it difficult for the citizens to support the voluntary welfare agencies. It requires more personal sacrifice than ever before.

Why Voluntary Agencies?

From all this, many citizens ask themselves: For what reasons must we continue to support the voluntary agencies? Why not let the Government do it all?

The first answer to this question is that you cannot retire from the voluntary field if you wish our American civilization to survive. The essence of our self-government lies in self-government outside of political government. Ours is a voluntary society. The fabric of American life is woven around our churches, our professional societies, our women's organizations, our business, our labor and farmer's associations — and not least, our charitable institutions. That is the very nature of American life. The inspirations of progress spring from these voluntary agencies, not from bureaucracy. If these voluntary activities were to be absorbed by government bureaus, this civilization would be over. Something neither free nor noble would take its place.

Spurs to Progress

The second answer to this question is that it is our privately-supported and managed hospitals and educational institutions that establish the standards for similar governmental agencies. It is the voluntary institutions which are the spur to official progress. Without them our governmental healing and educational agencies will lag and will degenerate.

The third answer to this question is that morals do not come from government. No government agency can create and sustain a system of morals.

There is a fourth answer. Governments and bureaucracies cannot build character in our youth. With the brutalization which is inevitable from war, revitalized character-building has never been as necessary as it is today.

The Spark of Altruism

There is a fifth answer. The greatest and, in fact, the only impulse to social progress is the spark of altruism in the individual human being. "And the greatest of these is charity" has been a religious precept from which no civilized people can depart without losing its soul. If governments practice charity, then it is solely because it rises from that spark in the hearts of the people. The day when altruism in the individual dies from lack of opportunity for personal expression, it will

ie in the Government. At best, charity y government must be formal, statis- cal and mechanistic. Yours is charity n its real sense – not obligatory but rom the heart.

There is a sixth reason. The world s in the grip of a death struggle be- ween the philosophy of Christ and hat of Hegel and Marx. The philos- phy of Christ is a philosophy of com- assion. The outstanding spiritual istinction of our civilization from all thers is compassion. With us, it is the noblest expression of man. Those who serve receive an untold spiritual bene- fit. The day when we decide that the Government is our brother's keeper, that is the day the spirit of compassion has been lost.

But a simpler answer than all this lies in the Parable of the Good Samari- tan. He did not enter into govern- mental or philosophic discussion. It is said when he saw the helpless man "he had compassion on him . . . he bound his wounds . . . and took care of him."

End of an Era - Dawn of an Awakening

The following statement by James C. Ingebretsen and Edward W. Green- eld was sent shortly after the beginning of the year to a number of Spiritual Iobilization friends and supporters. It announces and explains the new rogram for reconstituting the organization and program of Spiritual Mobiliza- on, and is herewith shared with our readers.

The invitation to which more than 700 clergymen have already responded also reproduced at the close. Other clergymen of like mind are herewith rged to return the form as an expression of their desire to share more intimately the new venture.

he Changing Tide

When in the closing week of 1959 ne editor of one of America's leading eft-wing religious journals makes ublic admission of "The Decline of ocialism," and another prominent eft-wing professor from a leading beral theological seminary confesses nat he has "moved away from a doc- rinaire socialism," there is fresh hope nat America is at the end of one era nd the beginning of a new.

The foregoing confessions *(The Christian Century,* December 23rd nd 30th) still leave much to be de- ired, yet they mark a significant vic- ory for the protest against outright dvocacy of socialism in church circles that brought Spiritual Mobilization into being 25 years ago.

However large or small our part in accomplishing the changed outlook, so-called "Christian Socialism" is dead; and while modified versions of it per- sist, the time is past for Spiritual Mobilization to be essentially a protest movement. After 25 years, we feel that we have reached a watershed of op- portunity and challenge to meet the new demands of a new era.

Need for New Direction and Dynamic

America today is in many ways divided between forces of head-long movement and change on the one

hand, and the desire to retard the change on the other. But the forces of change lack direction, and many of the forces that resist the changes are not offering constructive alternatives.

Says one observer: "Today [our society] is drifting and has no sense of purpose." Says another: "Everybody feels that something is wrong . . . but nobody seems to know just how or why."

It is our conviction that Western civilization is today living more on spiritual capital from the past than from new spiritual capital being created to match the pressing demands of today's world. Despite the character and sincere religious commitment of many individuals, the religious life of America reveals a sad lack of vision in the face of directionless drift. There is singular inadequacy to motivate individuals and groups to live and act as free, responsible men, or to provide examples of personal growth in conduct, character, and consciousness by which truth may be made visible in loving action.

Our American experience is making it clear that external political and economic structures of freedom can endure only so long as men retain the will and the capacity for liberty. The dynamics of this spirit of liberty are basically religious.

Ways must therefore be found to bring fresh vitality to the spiritual and moral foundations of free society. While working within the historic framework of Christianity, new insights and understanding need to be absorbed from growing-edge discoveries in the social, psychological, and biological sciences.

The Challenge to Spiritual Mobilization

Such a purpose, combined with a clear, new vision for America, offers the only hopeful or viable solution to the problems now faced by Western civilization. Spiritual Mobilization is tremendously concerned to address itself to these new needs of a new time.

Albert Schweitzer has been quoted as saying there are three ways to influence opinion and action: "reason, persuasion, and example, and the greatest of these is example."

In pursuit of this, it is time, we feel, to do three fundamental things:

1. Employing *reason,* to move toward a contemporary image of what a modern, free, industrial society, at its best, ought to be, finding and developing the enduring wisdom of the past, and embracing the new insights and understandings of the present, to provide the sign posts for the future.

2. To find the means of *persuasion* by developing, both within and without the forms of institutionalized religion, the moral and spiritual resources through which free men may be motivated to fulfill the image their reason provides – and thus be enabled to preserve freedom and use it responsibly toward emerging personal growth and social cohesion.

3. In the lives of those committed by reason and persuasion, to provide *examples* of disciplined and strenuous personal and voluntary efforts, whether large or small, to heal or resolve specific personal or social problems, conflicts, and distress.

The New and Larger Venture

To explore these concepts more fully, first with clergymen, and then with laymen, is our present purpose and program. Inquiry into the possibilities among clergy readers of *Faith*

nd Freedom has produced a spon-aneous and affirmative response from nore than 700 pastors from virtually very state and denomination, as well s from Asia, Europe, and Africa.

Seventeen of these clergymen from leven states and ten denominations re inviting a selected group of other lergymen and laymen to meet at Campbell House for three days, April 6th-28th. They will explore the fuller limensions of the foregoing problems n the light of past experience and present purposes and program, as described in the earlier brochure sent to all our readers, "The Liberating Spirit of Spiritual Mobilization."

We believe that out of these meetings will come a new and dedicated effort, in close fellowship, to fashion a contemporary ministry of faith and freedom to the churches and people of America and the world. The potential in this new venture is greater than anything that Spiritual Mobilization has hitherto undertaken.

INVITATION TO FELLOWSHIP

Below is the invitation that, with minor changes, has already been accepted by more than 700 clergymen from all parts of the country and abroad. Others who have not yet responded, but who feel led to do so by this issue of *Faith and Freedom,* especially the item, "End of an Era – Dawn of an Awakening," are invited to fill out and mail the form below. Further information will be sent on request.

The Rev. Edward Greenfield
Spiritual Mobilization
P.O. Box 877
San Jacinto, California

Dear Mr. Greenfield:

I am, in general, responsive to the goals and purposes of Spiritual Mobilization as described in "The Liberating Spirit" and as I gather from this issue of *Faith and Freedom.* Please keep me in touch with the discussions looking toward the emergence of a more active fellowship of like-minded religious leaders. I understand that this does not obligate me in any way, that my name will not be publicly used unless I authorize it, and that I may withdraw from the discussions at any time.

Comments:

Signed .....
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City .....
Position .....
Church .....

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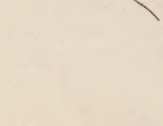

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